THE TORIES
and how to beat them

by Margot Heinemann

3d.

People like these form the traditional ruling class of Britain. The Tory party belongs to this class. This pamphlet shows you why it must never again be allowed to govern Britain.

These Men CLAIM to be YOUR FRIENDS

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., leader of the Conservative Party, is the son of a Lord and grandson of a Duke. His mother was an American heiress, daughter of a wealthy Wall Street broker. He got the typical ruling-class education at Harrow.

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P. (Eton and Oxford), Deputy-leader of the Party, is director of Westminster Bank and Phœnix Assurance Co.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Woolton, Chairman of the Conservative Party Organisation, is managing director of Lewis Ltd., the department stores, who last year made £1,116,000 profit and raised their dividend from 20 to 25 per cent.

The Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler, M.P. (Marlborough and Cambridge), Chairman of the Party's Advisory Committee on Policy, is a director of Courtaulds Ltd., the great rayon combine, and son-in-law of Samuel Courtauld, head of the company, which made close on £11 million profit last year.

The Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, M.P. (Eton and Cambridge), another Tory front-bencher and big business expert, was formerly concerned in Malayan tin mines, now chairman of Associated Electrical Industries. On the board of this huge combine, which employs 53,000 workers and makes £3 a week gross profit from each of them, sits Mr. W. Herod of the International General Electric Co. of America, recently appointed America's "Gauleiter" over British industry.

Sir Peter Bennett, M.P., a former president of the Federation of British Industries, is director of Joseph Lucas and of Imperial Chemical Industries, Britain's biggest monopoly, which made £44 million profit in 1950 and is linked by cartel agreements with America's Dupont de Nemours.

Sir John Mellor, M.P. (Eton and Oxford), legal and property expert, is on the board of Prudential Assurance Company, one of the greatest centres of financial power, as well as on London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties, and other property-owning trusts.

The Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison, M.P., has a direct interest in British exploitation of Malaya, as a director of London Tin Corporation and of Anglo-Oriental and General Investment Trust.

The Marquess of Salisbury, leader of the Tory Party in the House of Lords, is head of the wealthy land-owning Cecil family, which, says the Tory *Home Truths*, "for three and a half centuries has dominated or influenced Britain's political life".

- **The Tories represent the big employers—yet they claim to be the best friends of the working man.**
- **The Tories direct the combines and trusts that are boosting prices and making millions of profit—yet they claim to defend the people against high prices.**
- **The Tories represent the big land owners and property owners—yet they claim to stand for the householder and small farmer.**

Enemies of the People

THE Tory Party, so decisively defeated at the General Election in 1945, is once again making a bid for power.

To the millions of people who are worried about the high prices, the housing shortage, the growing danger of another world war—the Tories say: "Make us the Government, and we'll solve your problems for you."

And, as the 1950 General Election, the subsequent Parliamentary by-elections and local elections show, the Tories have had a certain amount of success in putting this idea across.

Every worker, by hand or brain, needs to understand who the Tories really are and what they are in politics for. In this pamphlet, therefore, we give a few of the facts about the Tories—their promises, their record—and show how to deal with them.

One thing must be clear from the outset. The Tories represent the small class of people who stand for riches and luxury at the expense of the working people. They stand for a system of society that means the Ritz, the Savoy and Mayfair for a handful of wasters and idlers, Woolworths and the back streets for the workers who produce the wealth.

Fat Wallets:

The Tory Party owes its influence to wealth and privilege, and nothing else. Twenty-five years ago the Tory Party leader, "honest" Stanley Baldwin, appealing for funds for the Party, told the world:

> "We need friends, and I look to the City of London to give a lead in providing that support which, as businessmen, they should be prepared to give, in view of our efforts to make their business safe." (*Daily Telegraph*, 2.2.26.)

It paid the capitalists to subscribe. And it still pays them in their fight for higher profits and lower taxes, cheap labour and plenty of unemployed waiting for every job.

Pity the Poor Rich

The Tories are always moaning about how heavily they are taxed, and how difficult it is to keep up the position in life to which their birth entitles them. Said Mr. R. Assheton, M.P.

(director of Borax Consolidated, United States and South American Investment Co., and several other trusts), in the last Budget debate:

> "The Chancellor's new measures will mean . . . that business will hardly have what is necessary to keep going. . . . Taxation is destroying accumulated wealth at a tremendous pace."

Their Profits Soar

But facts show that higher prices, lagging wages, have brought huge rises in profits.

As for the landowners—many of them descended from the old robber feudal nobility—they take a tribute of £60 millions rent every year just for graciously allowing the farmers to work "their" land and make it fruitful.

And, not content with robbing the British people, the Tories and the class they represent squeezed out of the poverty of the colonial peoples £500 million or more in dividends and interest last year.

How the Rich Live

Do you believe the Tory tale that all the money the rich make goes to "re-equip industry"? Just look at the Society columns of the Press and you will see where is does go.

The Queen magazine the other day was giving advice to society mothers on how to arrange a dance for a debutante daughter. It recommends hiring the ballroom at the Savoy, the Dorchester or Claridges:

> "Most of these places charge from 18s. 6d. to 21s. a head, and this does not include champagne, for some people prefer to bring their own champagne, and in that case there is corkage to be paid, which varies from 12s. 6d. to 15s. a bottle. . . . On the other hand, it is possible to arrange for an inclusive charge of round about £3 a head, with non-vintage champagne. There also has to be a buffet . . . and a breakfast at about two in the morning is not unusual, but would, of course, cost more."

On top of this, the band is to cost sixty to eighty guineas, and flowers anything from £20 to £100, while the lucky girl concerned needs "at least four ball dresses" for her first London season. In one evening such people spend more on throwing a party than many a skilled worker earns in a year.

While these junketings go on, the ordinary working-class family has to pinch and scrape, and the old-age pensioners can't afford to buy their rations. But do the Tories fight for higher wages, better social services? Of course not. All they are concerned about is to protect their luxury way of life.

UP AND UP

In 1950 company and corporation profits, after tax, were £1,569 millions, or more than double those of 1938. And in the first third of 1951, profits have gone up, after tax, by another 3s. 5d. in the £1, while the Budget itself set off a tremendous boom on the Stock Exchange.

THE TORY RECORD

In the period between 1918 and 1940, there were Tory Governments most of the time,

with great majorities in Parliament. And on every occasion they put profits first and attacked the working people.

Wage cuts, Means Test, slums, unemployment, miserable "economies" at the expense of old-age pensioners and schoolchildren—that was the record of the Tories in the twenty years when they held power between the wars.

Tory Comics

Because of their wealth, the Tories are not only able to print and distribute free pictorial papers and plaster the walls with posters on a grand scale, but also to control big-circulation newspapers to influence people's ideas in a more subtle way.

Lord Beaverbrook, whose millions first came from the Canadian cement trust, can trumpet Tory opinions to the world through the *Daily Express* and *Evening Standard;* Lord Rothermere through the *Daily Mail* and *Evening News.* Almost without people noticing it, they are pushing Tory ideas into their minds.

Tory Eyewash

If the Tories openly preached their real policy—higher profits, lower wages, less social services, a bigger arms programme and a complete sell-out to the Yanks—they wouldn't get many votes. So when they're trying to win your support, they speak with deep sympathy about your worries.

Crocodile Tears

The Tory propagandists shed crocodile tears about the high cost of living, the small meat ration and the hardship it puts on the working-class housewife.

What hypocrisy—when the class that pay for this propaganda hardly know what their meat ration looks like, but can afford to stuff themselves in West End restaurants as often as they choose!

Would They Bring Down Prices?

Would the Tories really bring prices down? Not on your life! What they're after is to put profits up.

To cut the cost-of-living, the main thing is to stop the drive to war and the huge arms expenditure that goes with it. Will the Tories do that?

Far from it, they work for still *more* to be spent on arms and *less* on food subsidies.

They want to raise controlled rents, which they say are "artificially low". If they had their way, rents of nearly all working-class homes would go up—for the landlords' benefit.

They want to "review" the housing subsidies and raise the rate of interest—which means higher rents for new council houses and higher rates for everybody.

CONTEMPT FOR THE PEOPLE

Big - businessman Oliver Lyttelton, M.P., recently told a meeting of the Institute of Directors:

"Universal suffrage will always mean high taxation and an attempt to equalise the fruits of success with the penalties of failure . . . When you start worshipping the average, the human race is indeed in danger." (Manchester, 28.9.50.)

Away With Controls

They want to do away with price controls. Presumably they are quite pleased with the prices charged for fish since control was removed, and want the same to happen with other goods.

The truth is that **THE TORIES ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHOSE COMPANIES ARE MAKING BIG PROFITS FROM HIGH PRICES.**

Nice Homes—For Big Money

What touching sympathy the Tories show in their propaganda for the young working-class couple who can't get a house. "We'd see you got a home", they cry. "We would put housing for the people first." But meanwhile the Conservative Club is spending £35,000 on improvements to its already luxurious buildings in St. James's.

What do such people know of the desperate housing needs of Poplar and the Gorbals?

The one real proposal the Tories have about housing is to give a bigger chance to "private enterprise"—a polite name for the jerry-builders who flourished before the war.

"Good Enough for the Workers"

At the same time, the Tories want council houses to be made smaller and cheaper—lower ceilings, smaller rooms, no toolshed or second lavatory, and so on. "Quite good enough for the workers", say they.

The Tories claim that they did a wonderful job re-housing the people by private enterprise before the war, when Tory Governments were in power. But what they don't tell you is that the great majority of these houses built by private enterprise were built for sale, and seven out of ten of them were so dear as to be out of the reach of working-class families. *"A house if you're rich enough" — that's what their talk really means.*

TORY HOUSING PROBLEM

The Marquess of Salisbury, leader of the Tories in the House of Lords, has a town house in Chelsea and two country mansions in Hertfordshire and Dorset. His brother-in-law, the Duke of Devonshire, last year bought a 200-year-old house in Mayfair, because the four houses he already owns—one in Eaton Square, two in Derbyshire and one in Eastbourne—were not enough for him.

LESS FOR US—MORE FOR THEM

The Tories today are in full cry to cut Government spending and lighten their taxes. But not by cutting the 7s. 2d. in the £ that goes to war expenditure! Oh no! When *they* talk about "economies" *they mean cutting the social services.*

When you ask *what* they would cut, they usually try to avoid an answer for fear of losing votes. But sometimes they do let the cat out of the bag.

Save on the Needy

For instance, *One Nation,* a Tory Party pamphlet on social

services published in October 1950, proposed:

Save £35 million on the Health Service by charging for hospital board, medicines and appliances.

Raise the age of entering school to five and a half, or even six, so as to deal with overcrowding without building more schools.

Reduce the food subsidies and let prices rise.

Tories and Trade Unions

The Tory Party has the sheer impudence today to claim that it "strongly supports and upholds the trade union movement and wants it to perform its vital function of protecting the interests of its members".

This from the Party that introduced the "Blacklegs' Charter" —the Trade Disputes Act of 1927, which restricted picketing, made sympathetic strikes a crime, and tried to cripple the political work of the trade union movement! This from the Party of the big employers, who throughout history have victimised active trade unionists whenever they thought they could get away with it!

Every sensible worker knows what it's worth when such men pose as the friends of the unions.

The Tories' real policy for the industrial workers is: harder work, longer hours, less real wages, so that profits can go up, and mass unemployment to help keep the workers in their place.

At the last Tory Party Conference a delegate declared: "Before the war . . . men worked well. Was the nation working today?" He was greeted with cries of "No!" (*The Times*, 14.10.50.) These are the people whose pictures you see in the smart society journals, yachting at Cowes, fashion-parading at Ascot, dining out at the Ritz or Claridges. This gang of wealthy do-nothings are always sneering at miners and dockers for slacking, when the truth is that if they had to do a miner's work just for one day they would be flat on their backs before the shift was over.

Strike-Breakers

As for their talk about "setting the unions free", when the dockers or the gas workers were out on strike the Tories in Parliament shouted loudest for the Government to use the troops and threaten imprisonment to force the men back.

SAVE ON THE KIDS!

In the Budget debate on April 12, Captain Waterhouse, Tory M.P. for Leicester East, wanted drastic cuts in the school meal service.

"Hundreds of thousands of children get these meals at the price of about one-third of the actual cost, who do not need them at all, and whose parents are both able and willing to provide them with meals, but are not such fools as to do it when they are invited to take the meals from the schools."

They WANT Unemployment

The most damning thing about the Tories is whispered among themselves, rather than publicly stated. We all know that Tory rule would be liable to produce that horror of the nineteen-thirties—the dole queue, the hunger marches, the "special" areas. But do all of us realise that if Tories got back into power this would be, not merely a by-product of their policy, but something which they would strive *deliberately* to re-create? Because for them "three men for every job" is an ideal state of society. As Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chairman of Lloyds' Bank, put it in 1949 in the House of Lords:

> "Over-full employment . . . means that wages can only move in one direction, that is, upwards . . . I would say that to diminish the condition of over-full employment would have a good effect in promoting industrial discipline."

TORYISM MEANS WAR

All through, Tory foreign policy has aimed, not to secure peace and prosperity for the British people, but to preserve the wealth and profit of their own class.

The Tories never hesitate to send British lads overseas to fight and be killed in colonial wars to safeguard the profits of their tin and rubber companies in Malaya, their oil companies in the Middle East. Their millions were made out of exploitation and poverty for the colonial peoples. To them the welfare of Britain means the welfare of the shareholders in Dunlop Rubber Co., London Tin Corporation, Shell Oil, Rhokana Copper.

Prepared Second World War

In the nineteen-thirties, Tory Governments appeased and encouraged Hitler and Mussolini, who were backed by big business.

Friendship with Russia then could have prevented the Second World War, and all the loss of British lives. The Tories refused it, because Russia was a socialist country. Instead, they organised the Munich betrayal — and seventy Tory M.P.s still in Parliament voted for that betrayal! The Federation of British Industries arranged trade talks with German big business. **The Tories made Hitler strong—hoping he would leave us alone and attack Socialist Russia.** Their gamble cost us dear.

Even during the war, Churchill now boasts that he was already planning how to join up with

PEACE SCARE ON WALL STREET

"A wave of selling hit the New York stock market in the final twenty minutes of trading yesterday, and depressed prices in some cases by as much as $5 a share. Nervousness over current phases of the war in Korea, plus London diplomatic reports that Russia would like to talk over Korea and Far Eastern settlements with the United States, were responsible for the fall." ("The Times", May 19, 1951.)

America to weaken Socialism in the after-war period.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

The Tories like to claim they are the true patriots. But their flag today is not the Union Jack; it's the Stars and Stripes!

The Tories hate Socialism so much, and fear its advance in Britain so much, that they are prepared to sell the British people, lock, stock and barrel, to the American millionaires, in the hope that these may be powerful enough to prop up capitalism and crush Socialism.

For the past five years the Tories have been the main mouthpiece in Britain for American war policy.

Churchill Began It

Churchill, speaking at Fulton (U.S.A. in 1946, with Truman on the platform, was the first to call publicly for an Anglo-American military alliance against Russia. This son of an American mother is the architect of the American occupation of Britain.

Again, he was among the first to declare that Britain ought not to agree to ban the hideous atom bomb, but to use it as a "shield" against Communism, and to have no hesitation about being the first to drop it in socialist countries. He is always boasting that East Anglia is America's "offensive base" for atomic warfare against Russia.

"I think we should be ready and proud to be the hosts of our American allies and comrades at our famous and vital Mediterranean bases at Gibraltar, Malta and, presumably, Cyprus. I would much rather the British offensive atomic base in East Anglia were not the only major deterrent of this kind." (Churchill, 19.4.51.)

WAR IS TERRIBLY PROFITABLE

"The pattern of our business, in common with many others, is becoming coloured with the readjustments in demand brought about by the necessity of rearmament. I am pleased to be able to tell you that 1950 proved to be another satisfactory year for your company. New records were established, both for the volume and the value of sales. . . . Profit amounted to £303,547." (Sir Ralph Glyn, M.P., at meeting of Skefko Ball-Bearing Co., 25.4.51.)

Want to Drop Hell-Bomb

Many Tories are demanding a "show-down" as soon as possible.

"Russia has the ordinary arms of war, and we have the atomic bombs. . . . I imagine that we may be rather stronger at present than we shall be in four years' time. . . . The threat of an atomic bomb on Baku, after giving due notice for the evacuation of the people, would be most unpleasant; it would mean no loss of life, but it would mean almost starvation in future years." (Lord Brabazon, ex-Tory Cabinet Minister, House of Lords, 28.2.51.)

Rearming Nazis

The Tories, and Churchill at their head, were the first in Britain to welcome as comrades-in-arms, in preparation for their war against Russia, the very Nazi butchers who only yester-

day—after having destroyed the German Labour Movement—bombed our cities and instituted the horrors of gas-chambers and concentration camps.

TORY RETURN A DISASTER

The return of a Tory Government would be a disaster for the British people. Make no mistake, many Tories hate Socialism so intensely that they would rather launch a war than see the socialist countries growing more and more prosperous and happy. If they did get back into power they would use the most vicious repression against trade union rights and against all who fight for peace.

So let's hear no more of the shameful defeatist argument that "a Tory return might not be a bad thing—it would give Labour a chance to be an effective opposition".

Attlee Makes Churchill Strong

If today the British Labour Movement were united for a policy of peace and social advance, there would be no danger whatever of a Tory victory.

But since 1945 the right-wing Labour leaders have not followed that road. They have refused to make the great changes that the people wanted and expected in 1945. They did not attack the power and wealth of the rich, which is the source of Tory influence and funds.

Instead, they have tied Britain up to America's alliance for war against Socialism. They let the American Air Force occupy Britain and American generals throw away British lives in the dirty war in Korea. They have brought in a huge arms programme on America's orders, and made the workers pay for it by higher prices and worsened social services.

BRITISH LADS' LIVES—A GOOD INVESTMENT

"I must confess to having an interest in most parts of the Far East, particularly in Indo-China. . . . Perhaps a slight investment on our part, visible investment in the way of troops and arms such as America is making to help in Indo-China, might pay a very good dividend. It is the finest insurance policy we could take out." (Mr. W. S. Fletcher, Tory M.P., rubber broker, 27.2.51.)

At the same time, as the Communist Party's Programme points out, "the profits of the big trusts and monopolies are higher than they have ever been".

By carrying through this policy, which is really a Tory policy, the Labour leaders have imposed great burdens on the British people.

And the Tories, after their great defeat in 1945, *are quick to cash in on present hardships and anxieties to make a political come-back.*

When the Labour vote in by-elections drops, and that of the Tories goes up, it does not mean that Tory policy is right. It means that Labour policy is wrong.

Unity against the Tories

The Tories can and must be defeated.

This is why Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist Party, has issued an appeal for Labour and Communist Party members to get together for a united fight against them.

> "We Communists fight, as we have always fought, for the unity of the working-class movement, but we also believe that it is only possible to have such unity on the basis of policies that weaken the capitalists and strengthen the Socialists."

The defeat of the Tories cannot be brought about by appeals for "loyalty" to those Labour leaders who are carrying out a Tory policy at home and abroad. *It can only be achieved by loyalty to socialist principles, loyalty to the working people.*

Time for You to Act

It is time all honest Labour men and women, trade unionists and Co-operators, united their forces to clean up both the Tories and their stooges in Transport House. It is time the working class realised that they and they alone are acting as the true patriots of Britain when they fight for their interests.

Fight NOW for the withdrawal of Britain from the war alliance with the American millionaires; for negotiations between the Five Great Powers and a Pact of Peace; for an immediate reduction in arms expenditure; a revision of the Budget and no attack on the social services; and the most drastic attack on the rent, interest and profit of the rich.

TORY REMEDY

Roger Sewill, director of "Aims of Industry", said at a Tory brains trust:

"If we had to pay a bit more for our food, it would encourage some people to work a bit harder."

Surrey Times, 17.4.51

YOU MUST READ

THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The Programme of the Communist Party

"Charts the future"—of interest to everyone in the Labour movement and all progressive people

3d. through usual channels, or from

Central Books, Ltd., 2 Parton Street, London, W.C.1

Finish with the Tories

When the working class fights for such a policy, then the defeat of every Tory or Independent, or whatever other specious name reactionaries run under in local elections, can be secured.

But it demands not only unity in the Labour Movement, unity behind Labour and Communist candidates. It demands a new policy and a new pioneering, fighting spirit throughout the Labour Movement, to blazon the principles and the cause of the workers at every street-corner, market place and public hall. To show the Red Flag once again. To expound the principles of Socialism. This is the way to revive the enthusiasm of 1945 and go forward to greater victories.

United for a real people's policy, the people can keep out the Tories for good and all, and bring into power a new Government that will take Britain forward on the road to peace and Socialism.

Published by the Communist Party, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2, and printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (T.U. all depts.), Watford, Herts—CP/S/90/5/51.